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THE POST, Washington, D. C.

Under Germany's Leadership.

The Post has not always found itself able to admire the foreign policy of this administration. In our opinion there has been far too much complacency with England—the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, our diplomatic attitude toward the Boers, and, finally, the astounding surrender of Alaska territory to Canada under the trans-
parent guise of a temporary "modus vivendi." In every case our action has been unwise, if not indefensible. In every case it has alarmed and grieved the patriotic citizen. We have felt bound to applaud Mr. Hay's policy with reference to China thus far, but in the matter of accepting Count von Waldersee as the leader of the allied forces we think the administration is blundering badly.

There can be no objection to von Waldersee, personally. We know of no reason why he should not, on his individual merits and by virtue of his high rank and brilliant record, be placed in command. The question, however, is whether the United States can put its forces at the disposal of this or any other representative of the German Emperor. Waldersee is unquestionable, himself, but what of his master, William II, who has publicly exhorted the German army to slay and spare not—to take no prisoners, and to wage a war of vengeance and extermination? We do not forget that, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, the present uprising of the Chinese has been precipitated by Germany's arrogant and offensive policy of spoliation in their country. It is quite fresh in the memory of all that Germany, having expelled the Jesuits from her own territory, made the alleged murder of two German Jesuits in China the pretext for seizing a large province and adopting a course of intolerable insolence toward that nation. On the top of this comes the Emperor's injunction to his soldiers: "Spare no one, take no prisoners"—the injunction of a savage chieftain to barbarian followers! Unquestionably we are warranted in asking ourselves whether we can safely submit an American army to the authority and the leadership of Count von Waldersee, who, whatever may be his private virtues, is above all things the vassal of so bloodthirsty and violent a monarch as the German Emperor.

Thus far, our conduct has been without reproach. In refusing to take part in the bombardment of the Taku forts, we celebrated our attitude of humanity and good faith. In announcing that we have no mission of rapine and dismemberment in China, we have aligned ourselves with the forces of enlightened civilization. How, then, can we forfeit the moral superiority of our position by becoming the ally of a ruler who proposes to revive the horrors of the dark ages?

Surely the administration is not well advised in yielding to Germany's overture. We have in China no business beyond that of securing protection for our citizens and our legitimate interests, and should not become involved in any schemes of wickedness and barbarism.

Let us have a full, frank, and definite understanding as to every detail that we commit ourselves beyond recall.

A Call for Courage.

Lee Mantle, of Montana, former United States Senator from that State, has resigned the chairmanship of the local Silver Republican committee and come out squarely for McKinley and Roosevelt. In making the transfer of his allegiance Mr. Mantle's motives, by clear implication, those striving to evade the Democratic challenge to make imperialism "the paramount issue." The concerted and determined effort of the Republicans to push the ghost of 16 to 1 to the front and work up a baseless scare is not treated with much courtesy by this distinguished flopper. "Silver," he says, "is no longer the paramount issue, not even with Bryan himself, and less so with the great majority of the party." "To my mind," he adds, "the paramount issue to-day is the issue of maintaining the honor and dignity of the nation and the supremacy of the flag wherever it is rightfully floating. It is the issue of whether we shall preserve the fruits of all the blood and treasure expended and all the splendid courage and patriotism exhibited in the cause of humanity and in defense of undeniable rights, or whether we shall resolutely discharge the great obligations which have devolved upon us, or whether we shall abandon our advanced position, throw down our arms, cravenly hie to the white flag, and admit to the world that we are incapable of solving the problems which confront us."

It is possible to respect and commend the courage evinced by that deliverance without fully indorsing it as an accurate statement of the issue. It seems to hark back to the best traditions of the Republican party; to the times when it had no use for the arts of the trimmer, when, seeing what it believed to be the path of duty, it took that way and pressed on to victory. If the old-time courage of the party of Lincoln and Grant has not died out the leaders, organs, and orators will face the only new issue, the real, the vital issue.

Expansion is the one great and pregnant factor of the McKinley administration. Insular expansion, the acquisition of islands in the far East, which no American expects or desires shall ever be created into States of our Union, is a new departure. The assault made upon the new policy by the Kansas City platform and the Democratic candidate, calls for a vigorous defense. Shall it be forthcoming on the lines indicated by Mr. Mantle? Or will the dodging continue? Much depends on the answer to this question.

Courage is so admirable a quality, and the Republican party has so often and so successfully exhibited it, that a campaign of evasion should be impossible, that

party has settled the currency issue. It has triumphed equally over the greenback delusion of 1862 and the 16 to 1 heresy of 1896. It now faces a new issue, a great issue on which it is boldly assailed. It might as well expect to meet the occasion by talking about the weather as by attempting to infuse the breath of life into 16 to 1.

Title by Purchase.

Mr. Bryan says: "It is impossible to secure title to a people by force or by purchase." "Impossible" means that which cannot be done. We assume that by "title to a people" Mr. Bryan means sovereignty over a people. That is not ownership, as in the case of slaves, but it is the right to govern. In our case sovereignty implies the right to govern according to our Constitution. That is The Post's contention and the Democratic contention. Our fathers secured the sovereignty of this country by force. And while they did not, except in a few instances, claim or assert absolute ownership of the aboriginals as if they were cattle, they subjugated them and took possession of their lands. That has been going on all over the world since the dawn of history. The Israelites took their title to the land of Canaan by a war of extermination, in which neither age nor sex was spared. As Mr. Bryan frequently displays familiarity with the Old Testament, he will remember that the campaigns which resulted in the conquest of the promised land were directed by the God of Israel.

But we need not go into ancient history, nor need we leave our own country for illustrations of title by purchase. It is one of the proudest boasts of the greatest of Mr. Bryan's three parties that it has added vast areas to our more than imperial domains. In achieving these grand results the illustrious Democrats of the glorious past did not ask consent of the peoples whom they annexed by purchase. In 1803 Thomas Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Territory and its varied assortment of inhabitants for \$15,000,000. Who asked or cared for "the consent of the governed" in that transaction? Is not our title to that vast trans-Mississippi region invalid?

It is cheerfully admitted that, in some important respects, there are material differences between continental expansion and that which was accomplished by the adoption of the treaty of Paris. But in this matter of the validity of title by purchase geography is of no account. The theory that Mr. Bryan enunciates is applicable everywhere if anywhere.

In 1893 this republic purchased Florida and the right to control its heterogeneous population, paying for the title \$5,000,000. We did not ask their consent, and the administration sent Gen. Jackson with an imposing, sonorous title to govern them. And he did govern them in about as "imperial" a fashion as anything in that line that our national history records.

In 1848 we had another and very considerable transaction in real estate, whereby, in consideration of \$23,000,000, we acquired title to the lands and peoples of New Mexico and California. James K. Polk was President, and James Buchanan was Secretary of State. No consent of the people was asked, and they were governed—well and honorably governed—for years under the authority vested in the President as Commander-in-Chief of the army.

Under the administration of Franklin Pierce, whose Secretary of State was William L. Marcy, we secured, in 1853, for \$10,000,000, a valid title to Southern Arizona and its population of various colors. Again no consent was asked. In 1867, President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State William H. Seward paid \$7,500,000 for Alaska, the inhabitants going with the land, as usual, and no consent asked or cared for. Each of these transactions was precisely like that which placed the Philippines under our sovereignty. Each was a purchase of our sovereignty, and all that the term implies. And neither the United States nor any other power has a more lawful title to any part of its domain than we have to the Philippines.

A Careless Octopus Hunter.

Would it not be practicable for the St. Louis Republic, the most zealous and indefatigable of all the fierce and ferocious foes of trusts and combines, to get out a hunting of the octopus without getting on a Democratic trail? Could not our contemporary, by the exercise of a reasonable measure of sound discretion and diplomatic finesse, manage to deliver a shot upon some vulnerable part of a treed octopus without sending it through a Democratic midriff? That the Republic is abundantly equipped with discretion, outfitted with tact, and furnished forth with the necessary capacity has been established beyond possibility of doubt by the superb success it has achieved in ignoring 16 to 1 for the past two or three years, while catering to the political appetites of a numerous constituency intensely devoted to that heretical doctrine. Having witnessed and admired and applauded that sagacity, we feel that we have a right to utter a protest when our St. Louis contemporary perforates the midriff of the Texas Democracy, as led by the Hon. Joseph W. Bailey, in its heedless attempt to bring down the hated octopus.

Did not the Republic know that an attack upon the Standard Oil Company was equally an attack upon the Texas branch of the flag wherever it is rightfully floating. It is the issue of whether we shall preserve the fruits of all the blood and treasure expended and all the splendid courage and patriotism exhibited in the cause of humanity and in defense of undeniable rights, or whether we shall resolutely discharge the great obligations which have devolved upon us, or whether we shall abandon our advanced position, throw down our arms, cravenly hie to the white flag, and admit to the world that we are incapable of solving the problems which confront us."

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would have been on solid ground. But coal oil is not protected, and the Standard Oil monopoly is a creature of State legislation. Moreover, on the very day when the Republic's article was written, its political brethren in Texas, led by the Hon. Joseph W. Bailey, reincarnated and reinvigorated a branch of that monopoly. It was not kind to shoot so carelessly.

Democratic Plans of Campaign.

Mr. Bryan has made it plain that the Democratic campaign this year will be addressed to the weak spots in the McKinley administration and to the evils and scandals that have been developed by Republican legislation and policy. Of course, the party's attitude toward silver coinage remains unchanged, but it seems unmistakable that the party intends to make its fight chiefly on the more vulnerable points in the adversary's defenses. Mr. Bryan's analysis of the Imperialist Indianapolis the other day will, no doubt, be accepted as the keynote in that respect. It was a very strong presentation of the Democratic view of the matter and has enough material in it to equip several thousand stump orators of the average class with a three months' supply of thought.

When it comes to the trusts, concerning which Mr. Bryan will no doubt take early occasion to set the pace of discussion and attack, there is much to be said on their behalf, and the Republican orators may safely be relied upon to say it—and more; but in answer to the claim upon which the trusts rest their case—the claim that the worthy multitude are now getting their coal oil, beef, sugar, &c., cheaper than they ever did before—there is another side of the question which the Democrats can exploit with serious effect. They can retort, for example, that cheap articles of daily use are of little value to those thousands who have been deprived of their means of livelihood by the great capitalistic combinations, and that the individual would rather live under a system enabling him to pay higher prices than under any which does not enable him to pay any prices at all. Singularly enough, a Republican organ, the Detroit Tribune, of August 10, furnishes a very significant illustration of this apocryphal:

"The Page Fence Company, of Adrian, has made a good fight against the trusts, and outside of trust and general sympathy will be left for it in its temporary embarrassment. It illustrates the difficulty of continued and effective opposition to the modern form of industrial combination. When its directors refused to allow the concern to be absorbed by the fence trust, it had not only this trust but allied trusts to fight in the struggle to maintain its place in business. The wire that formed the raw material on which the factory operated was advanced in price more than 100 per cent. It was the only way to get the establishment of rolling mills with the supply of wire, and the large demands on the capital created by this extension of its business is assigned as the cause of its present embarrassment. Because of its very consciousness the company deserves a property that will speedily result in freeing it from the control of the receivership into which its affairs passed on Wednesday."

We find this concern rated in Bradstreet's as having an invested capital of \$300,000, and enjoying the very highest credit. Let us suppose that it employed 1,000 persons—a moderate assumption—and then consider that that number thus thrown out of employment are likely to think of the trust system which gives them cheap food, &c., but takes away the livelihood through which they are enabled to buy. It is quite safe to say that they, and thousands of others who, like them, have been driven out of business by the trusts, will refuse to be comforted by the thought that coal oil is cheaper than it was ten years ago. To the man who is out of work and out of money, the market retort makes no appeal whatever.

The New York Sun and Republican organs of that stamp are busily engaged in shouting against the "fifty-cent dollar" and daring Bryan to answer them; but if the Indianapolis declaration is to be received as an advance notice of the Democratic plan of campaign, Mr. McKinley's newspapers and spell-binders will soon have to abandon that expedient for a very different one. They will find hands full enough of Cuban, Porto Rican and Filipino problems, to say nothing of the trust controversy, which will be opened in due time.

The Enormous Pension List.

In order to secure for the Republican national ticket the allegiance of all the members of the Grand Army of the Republic and other old soldiers, the Republican campaign committee has issued a document which gives some interesting facts about pensions. For instance, the total amount paid for pensions during the four years of Grant's first administration aggregated, in round numbers, \$10,000,000; during his second administration \$10,000,000; and during the entire term of President Hayes \$145,000,000. In twelve years, therefore, the total expenditure for pensions was \$375,000,000. These were the twelve years, too, immediately succeeding the war.

In the three years during which Mr. McKinley has been President the enormous sum of \$20,000,000 has been paid to pensioners, and to this fact the Republican managers point with pride. It seems to us, however, that this showing, together with the further fact that from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1900, the payments for pensions and expenses connected with these payments aggregated \$2,000,000,000, will be apt to awaken the country to the Republican National Committee's campaign document brings about an awakening and a reform.

The unmarried female Populists out in Kansas have decided to boycott all the men who refuse to awaken the country to the Republican National Committee's campaign document brings about an awakening and a reform.

There are a few persons who are unable to understand how the Hon. David H. Hill can support the Chicago platform of 1900 when he was unable to perform that feat in 1886.

With the expiration of the Horton law New York will be compelled to take a back seat for Carson City.

The Hon. John M. Palmer will not swim with the decoy ducks this campaign. He is going into the middle of the stream with the Republican flock.

save their party from the folly of again committing itself to the free silver issue and that of the Hon. George Friebe Horn, who endeavored to induce his party to turn its back on expansion. We fear the Constitution looks crosswise.

In giving his support to the Kansas City ticket, the Hon. Charles A. Towne will try and forget Adlai.

The Republican editors are almost unanimous in running Mr. Bryan for the United States Senate.

When the journey for Salt River is begun they will doubtless insist upon being known as Middle-of-the-stream Populists.

The Hon. Ignatius Donnelly is down in Missouri making campaign speeches. He will not be able to do any harm in that State.

Perhaps Cincinnati should blame the trolley instead of the Census Bureau for its poor showing.

Mr. Hanna says he will not make any predictions concerning the result. He is evidently trying to be as different from Mr. Jones as possible.

The Hon. Benton McMillin is showing an inclination to muss up the Tennessee Senatorial contest.

By topping both Cincinnati and Buffalo in the census count, the Cleveland people will have ample material for justification.

The Kaiser resembles Teddy in one important respect. He doesn't hesitate to back out of a public utterance when he ascertains that it hurts.

The Hon. Bill Joel Stone is disposed to give Chairman Jones somewhat of a run for the prediction prize. He has discovered that the New York business men are lining up for Bryan.

The golf scores are eating vigorously into the space of the sporting columns of the daily newspapers.

Don't be too hard on the candidates. They are simply hustling for their living.

Louisville's handsome showing in population and commercial advancement may possibly embarrass Col. Watterston in his support of the hard-luck ticket.

Is the Republican party to be so fortunate as to be treated to a period of silence on the part of the Hon. Billy Mason?

The Sultan has skipped another pay day. The sick man is becoming an expert skipper.

The Republican business down in Alabama is one industry that is on the decline.

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It is no credit to a man to keep his word because no one will take it.

When ghosts walk they probably enter houses by the side of skeletons.

It may not hurt a joke to crack it, but some of the crackers ought to be hurt.

"Love is not a transport," says a poet. Yes, it is.

The individual who attends strictly to his own business plays an important role in the comedy of life.

Wise is the man who does of his own free will that which he would otherwise shortly be compelled to do.

The difference between a difference and a law is that the difference is an arbitrary and a law is a rule.

It is related of Midas that whatever he touched turned to gold; nowadays if you touch some man with gold they will turn to anything.

LIFE PEERAGES IN ENGLAND.

Although the late lord chief justice of England was a member of the House of Lords, yet his eldest son does not inherit either his peerage or his title, and will continue to bear the name of the Hon. Arthur Russell. His younger brother, the Hon. Charles Russell, is now on this side of the Atlantic in connection with the interests of Sir Thomas Lipton, whose legal adviser he is. The peerage of the lord chief justice was what is known as a life peerage. It was limited to his life by the Crown at his request. Although he enjoyed a very big income at the bar, before being raised to the bench, and subsequently as lord chief justice, it became a receipt of a salary of \$40,000 a year, yet he had a large family, and like so many of his fellow-Irishmen, expensive tastes, mainly in the direction of hospitality and horseflesh. He realized that were his sons to inherit his peerage without an adequate fortune to support it, they would be terribly handicapped in the race for life. And so it was with their consent and wish when he became lord chief justice that the peerage should be a life peerage. It was accepted as a sufficient justification of conduct that would be deemed infamous if inspired by unselfish motives.

The anti-foreigner crusade in China was made possible and was directly encouraged by the importation into the country by foreign traders of vast stores of modern arms and ammunition. It is the testimony of officers of the Seymour expedition that the arsenal of modern arms and ammunition contained more material than exists in the whole United States, nearly all of it from American, British, and German factories. The Chinese have been accumulating this material for several years for the purpose of making war upon foreigners, and the traders who supplied it knew perfectly well that it would be eventually against their own interests. Had any American, German, or Englishman assisted in arming the Chinese because he sympathized with them in their determination to clear the country of the foreign intruders who were trying to destroy their religion, bring their most sacred customs into contempt, and prepare the way for the partition of the empire, he would be looked upon as a traitorous scoundrel, and any sacrifice of personal interest he might have made would be deemed a crime. But he made a profit and was inspired solely by love of gain, he is absolved of his crime, and the purity of his patriotism is unquestioned. He has merely sold, not given, aid and comfort to the enemies of his country, and the money that he diverts from the pocket of the enemy to his own being a factor in the "balance of trade," which is a sacred thing, outweighs, even in the scales of the law of nations, the blood of the thousands of the soldiers who are sent to carry the flag in wars of conquest or protection promoted and incited by his mercenary enterprise.

Two Dutch men-of-war have been sent to Jambou where Jambou may have the misfortune to be to assist in putting down an outbreak of natives who have been supplied by the freebooters of commerce with the arms and ammunition which they have in sufficient quantity to encourage them to begin murdering white men. The dispatch conveying this bit of news naïvely says:

War in Jambou will be hailed with delight by many traders in the Straits, who have lately done little in arms dealing, owing to the increasing difficulties in the Acheen contraband arms traffic.

Hell upon earth, the killing and maiming of men, the awful suffering of humanity, the rending and mangle of human flesh, and the mental suffering and despair of women and children, are "hallowed with the dignity" by the eminently respectable men and women who call "business" and whose god is money. No infamy conceivable to the mind of man is incapable of justification on the plea that it is "business" and that it pays.

Most of the spilling of blood that is going on in the world to-day, from the Ashanti, the Congo, and the Transvaal, to Luzon, China, and Jambou, is the direct result of greed that calls itself "business" and enterprise that is nothing more than over arms of invasion, over fields plied with horrors that once were men, have followed trade.

It may sound strange that a man should dislike to become a lord, but the cases of peerages being refused in England are far more frequent than one would imagine. The present Lord Coleridge, son of the late Lord Coleridge, who was a lord chief justice, was so anxious to avoid succeeding to his father's peerage, which was an hereditary one, that he actually went to the length of appealing to the House of Lords to deprive him of the peerage which he had inherited. He was successful, and he has since been a member of the House of Commons.

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